DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 150 250 UD 017 962

AUTHOR Johnson, Norris Brock
TITLE Patrons, Clients, and Colleagues: A Comparative Consideration of Patterns of Participant Relationship in Nine Education Intervention Projects.
INSTITUTION Center for New Schools, Inc., Chicago, Ill.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. School Capacity for Problem Solving Group.
PUB DATE Nov 77
CONTRACT 400-75-0018
NOTE 44p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Comparative Analysis; *Group Relations; *Improvement Programs; Longitudinal Studies; *Problem Solving; *Program Effectiveness; *School Improvement; *Urban Schools

ABSTRACT

Through a comparative analysis of nine urban school improvement projects, it illustrates the association between patterns of constituent collaboration in the design of intervention projects and problem solving strategies and the degree of mutual adaptation, incorporation, and sustained project effectiveness. Many of the barriers to school improvement are cultural and relational rather than programmatic. Patterns of constituent relationship expressing mutual trust and respect, complementary roles, and shared goals are a necessary but not sufficient condition for a successful approach to the solution of persistent school problems. Three recommendations to improve the nature and quality of interpersonal relationships in school intervention projects, addressed to private and to governmental funding agencies as well as to technical assistance groups are: Where possible, resource and technical assistance should be focused on the better functioning of those sites demonstrating an established set of change activity, identity, direction, philosophy, goals, and colleague constituent pattern of relationship; technical assistance groups must engage in face-to-face interaction with other constituents; Finally, a cross-site analysis suggests a need for the support of collaboratively designed school improvement proposals, projects, and strategies as well as associated colleague patterns of constituent relationship. (Author/AM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED150250

PATRONS, CLIENTS, AND COLLEAGUES: A COMPARATIVE CONSIDERATION OF PATTERNS OF PARTICIPANT RELATIONSHIP IN NINE EDUCATION INTERVENTION PROJECTS

Norris Brock Johnson, Ph.D.

November 1977

DRAFT VERSION
FOR LIMITED CIRCULATION ONLY

UD017962

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Norris Brock Johnson

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

This paper is part of the Documentation and Technical Assistance Project of the Center for New Schools, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois. This Project is funded by the School Capacity for Problem Solving Program of the National Institute of Education, contract #400-75-0018. The views expressed in this paper do not necessarily reflect views of that agency.

PROJECT OVERVIEW

The Documentation and Technical Assistance in Urban Schools Project (DTA) is an effort to learn more about how to make urban public schools work better for urban students. Toward this end, DTA combines educational research and practice within one project. DTA's mandate has three interrelated parts:

DOCUMENTATION - to study, using primarily ethnographic techniques, the ways in which selected urban schools organize themselves to solve problems. Documentation focuses upon nine sites throughout the country selected and funded by NIE to continue to engage in locally initiated improvement activities.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE - to develop in practice specific strategies which are designed to improve urban public schooling. Technical assistance strategies are based upon documentation of useful practices in the nine funded sites.

LINKAGE - to increase understanding, through observation of DTA's attempts to link documentation with technical assistance, of the processes through which research can be useful to practice, and practice can influence research.

Our work is designed to effect school improvement through direct work in urban public schools and through sharing what we learn with the following audiences: parents, teachers, and administrators of urban public schools; the educational research community; groups or agencies working to assist urban schools; policy makers.

FOREWORD

This paper is part of the series of DTA papers that attempts to speak to important issues about problem solving and intervention in local schools to facilitate problem solving based on cross site analysis of the nine sites which DTA documented. Johnson explores in this essay his conception of the importance of the basic relationship between assistance group and the school groups being served. The essay both explores the concept of collegiality as a basic principle for effective change, and examines how, in his judgment, the concept is played out at the nine sites. He concludes with recommendations for future project design.

This is a draft of the essay. The author and DTA welcome critical comments. The draft was written before the final writing and analysis was complete on the nine sites. Therefore, interpretation of the nine sites should be considered tentative until they are checked against final analysis of each site.

Thomas A. Wilson
Project Director

When thou camest first,
Thou strok'dst me,
And mad'st much of me;
Wouldst give me
Water with berries in't;
And teach me how
To name the bigger light,
And how the less,
That burn by day or night:
And then I lov'd thee...
Yet you sty me
In this hard rock,
Whiles you do keep from me
The rest o' the island.

From The Tempest
by William Shakespeare

In several capacities, governmental and foundation agencies, school practitioners, as well as various technical assistance groups, have dedicated themselves to the solution of seemingly irresolvable urban school problems. Yet, as if composed of an unalterable genetic structure, fundamental problems persist. Moreover, in many cases, the messenger is often attacked in the very process of trying to convey solutions; change agents are often castigated as "do-gooders" and "outsiders".

RELATIONSHIPS AND STRATEGIES

Many of the seemingly impassable barriers to urban school improvement are cultural and relational as well as economic and political. For example, cities and metropolitan areas have long exhibited a diversity of culture, ethnicity, and socioeconomics, at once serving as catalyst for innovation and creativity as well as for persistent discontinuity and discord (Fried, 1967). In itself then, the very heterogeneity of urban areas, and its educational institutions, poses a barrier to cultural continuity (Cohen, 1969). On one level, present educational change efforts are situations of cross-cultural contact. Much of the frustration, resentment, hostility, and mutual rejection accompanying educational change efforts is due to ineffective patterns of relationship among the diverse parties involved: administration, instructional staff, students, parents, community representatives, district officials, Federal educational personnel, and technical assistance groups. In particular, local school people seem to be as affected by the character and nature of the relationships in intervention and change projects as they are by the change strategies themselves. In sustained change efforts, it is not exclusively an improvement strategy itself that is either accepted or rejected; tacit or overt rejection or acceptance

also is a characteristic pattern of relationship among participating parties underlying the presentation, introduction, and incorporation of a particular strategy. Such characteristic patterns reflect the attitudes, conceptions, images, value, and assumptions each party has of the other. Especially in the heterogeneous urban school situation, patterns of relationship among parties involved in education change efforts affect how both individuals and groups view and value the contributions of the other. In turn, these views and attitudes invariably affect the outcome, regardless of the strategy involved, of the project as a whole (Belshaw, 1970).

Overview

Based on a comparative analysis of data from the longitudinal study of nine urban school change projects, this article posits a relationship between patterns of relationship among participants in the intervention situation and the degree of incorporation of problem solving strategies. The purpose of this article is to stimulate greater awareness of and attention to the role of participants' relationships in the outcome of school improvement efforts. The following data are illustrative; a sample of only nine projects is not meant to validate the indicated relationships.* That particular patterns of participants' relationships are associated with the particular outcomes of school

*The Documentation and Technical Assistance Group employed site-based researchers to spend two years documenting intervention activities in each of the nine projects. Each researcher wrote a descriptive case study on their site. Researchers also wrote monthly summative updates and in-progress analysis papers. The Documentation and Technical Assistance Group was charged with the design of a study comparing inductively generated topics across sites. Accounts of more objective activities, such as problem identification and strategy design, were derived from funding proposals, conference working papers, minutes from project meetings, and other document analysis. While this article was being drafted, researchers were still living near their school sites and were able to provide specific information, feedback, and critical insight on the formulation of this paper.

intervention efforts is a deductive hypothesis framed for further testing. The data-based analysis of intervention projects is still quite rare (Havelock, 1969: 13-3); rarer still is descriptive literature on the pre-implementation phases of intervention strategies. When they do occur, a recent RAND report (Berman, 1975:3) notes:

> ...the literature paints project accomplishments in glowing broad-brush terms but it provides little information about specific successful strategies, about the components necessary to success, or even about what constitutes success.

The concentration here is on the preconditions of effective improvement strategies. In the approach to the resolution of persistent urban school problems, participants in change efforts must adopt mutually satisfactory roles and relationships. That this is not usually recognized is demonstrated in the infrequency with which funding proposals reflect the collaborative contributions of involved participants. Collaboration usually refers instead to the practitioners' and communities' post hoc acceptance of a technical assistance group's a priori change strategy and procedure. At its inception, such a pattern of participant relationships engenders mutual resentments, feelings, and attitudes undermining the effectiveness of an otherwise appropriate improvement strategy.* The pre-implementation approach to a solution to school problems is as important as the solutions themselves. There are particular patterns of participants relationships that seem to be necessary but not sufficient conditions for the effective implementation and incorporation of particular improvement strategies. Those conditions will be discussed in this paper.

*A reference from the Iroquois City case study draft (Sherlock, 1977) illustrates the manner in which school clients there received a funding proposal. "When they received a paper in the mail, they were uncertain as to whether it was really a proposal or a directive being 'laid on' them by outsiders." In another instance, at a school meeting to discuss the proposal, an Iroquois City community representative charged, "This proposal is the 'do-gooder' trying to tell the people what they need."

The following section discusses the nine NIE funded school improvement projects in terms of their pre-implementation patterns of relationships among participants; emphasis is placed upon the degree of participation in problem identification, strategy design, and proposal writing. A concluding section presents several summary recommendations to school practitioners, funding agencies, and technical assistance groups for improving their joint work.

PATRONS, CLIENTS AND COLLEAGUES

A DTA site researcher writes:

> The expert/colleague issue is extremely important in the larger context of educational change. School staffs resist experts. In fact, they all appear to loathe the idea of someone suggesting to them how to do something (Clark, 1977:8).

Analogy and metaphor remain effective methods of presenting disparate data. It has seemed to me that characteristic patterns of participants' relationships in several school intervention projects bear remarkable similarity to, on the one hand, patron-client relationships characteristic of peasant and plantation societies and, on the other, to the more collegial relationships characteristic of bureaucratic societies. These anthropological concepts order and clarify a heretofore slighted aspect of the school intervention process.

Euphemistically, clients are customers; one to whom something is done or to whom something is given. A client, being a client, is one, we assume, who is being taken care of. Always, the client is the recipient of something; the word suggests dependency and passivity. Motives are peripheral; presumably, parents take care of offspring out of a sense of love while lawyers protect people out of a sense of justice. Still, clients are invariably sheltered, protected, defended, and nurtured. Clients exist in a perpetual dependent relationship characterized by unequal status, role, knowledge, and expertise.

At once the Spanish patrón is ship captain, landlord, protector, and employer. From the Latin pater is derived the biological characteristics connoting the behavior and attitudes of a progenitor toward his offspring. Paternalism assumes a gap in status, role, and biological capability. With the best of intentions, a pater and patrón are inexorably charged with the ceaseless obligation of benevolently guiding and taking care of presumably incompetent wards; it is the curse of obligation.

In all these words, it is important to note the biological, deterministic, and inflexible connotations given to essentially social relationships. To carry out their role, clients need patrons; to carry out their role, patrons need clients. These roles are symbiotic; thus, we more properly speak of a patron-client pattern of relationship. Paternalism, patronage, and the patron-client relationship exhibit great depth of historical and geographic expression; these patterns endure because they are adaptive, functional, and of social consequence (Mannheim, 1940). Patron-client patterns of relationship are primarily manifested within stratified, heterogeneous societies among people of unequal status and rank having differential and unequal access to strategic and socially valued resources.* As Max Weber (1946) documents, these patterns of relationship effectively order, yet preserve, the status and role differences endemic to stratified, heterogeneous groups and societies:

> "Patron-client" contracts...tie people...of significantly different socioeconomic statuses (or order of power), who exchange different kinds of goods and services. Patron-client contracts are thus phrased vertically, and they can be thought of as asymmetrical, since each partner is quite different from the other in position and obligations (Foster, 1967:216).

Patronage is a pattern of relationship existing on many social levels. Patrons serve as intermediaries to wider, less accessible resource networks. Individuals,

*On the comparative characteristics of stratified societies, see Fried (1960), McAdams (1966), and Wittfogel (1959). Here, suffice it to say that states are inherently differentiated in rank, status, and the distribution of resources.

or groups, seek out patrons in order to receive benefits to which their social position inhibits access. Thus, local school groups might seek assistance from consortiums, research centers, or university professors. But these terms are relative; a patron is quite often the client to a still larger patron. There are more than a few instances of education technical assistance groups acting as patrons to a local school system but as clients to a funding agency:

> With patron-client contracts. . .one of the two partners is always of significantly higher position, from which stems the power which permits him to be a "patron" to the other. . . A patron, it is clear, is someone who combines status, power, influence, authority--attributes useful to anyone--in "defending" himself or in helping someone else defend himself. But a person however powerful and influential, is a patron only in relation to someone of lesser position--a client who, under specific circumstances, he is willing to help (Foster, 1967:222).

To the extent that patrons secure expected resources for their clients, the relationship endures. Through patronage, it will be seen that education technical assistance groups provide information and ideas, serve as brokers to wider resources, interpret specialized knowledge, and bestow higher status to clients. On the other hand, to the extent that clients provide patrons with expected resources, the relationship endures. It is not often stressed the degree to which clients add to the power of patrons (Kenny, 1960). It will be seen that educational patrons, because they themselves are clients, need local school clients to spread their strategies and ideas thus gaining notoriety, fame, prestige, further funding, and, sometimes, power. Local school clients provide patrons with the data base on which much educational change theory as well as patron reputation, is built; local school clients provide the essential situations through which hypothetical improvement strategies are tested and refined. Seemingly, all participants get what they need.

There are problems. Patron-client patterns of relationship are inherently undemocratic, paternalistic, and unequal; they breed mutual resentments and

hostility. The pattern of relationship is associated with characteristic feeling states; constituent heterogeneity is itself a problem:

> ...situations having potentially anxiety producing qualities; personal influence from high status individuals may produce considerable tension because of the prestige involved in one individual being of higher status. Also, a large disparity in status between individuals may create anxiety because of the tension produced by communication between individuals of different backgrounds (Havelock, 1969:5-14).

In its extreme, the cultural, social, and educational differences between the participants in urban school improvement projects often generates hostility, fear, defamation, disrespect, and mutual suspicion. Patrons come to feel they are supposed to "do everything"; that clients are irresponsible and ungrateful. Clients feel they are seen and treated as "children"; they speak of coming to feel disparaged, demeaned, slighted, disrespected, not "taken seriously", of being seen as "stupid", of being "talked down to", of social isolation and implied devaluation, and of ideas, problems, and strategies being "laid on" them by "outsiders". But school and school/community people continue to need resources of many kinds; patrons continue to need the prestige of patronage. Mutual hostility and resentment proliferates; if the project does not fail, it will be hampered by lack of cooperation and ineffectiveness.

There are alternatives. In contrast to the stratified patron-client relationships, colleague relationships homogenize rather than stratify (Reina, 1959; Wolf, 1966). The likelihood of differences in culture, schooling, or status being accepted as legitimate is enhanced (Niehoff and Charnel, 1964). Colleagues perceive each other as, and adopt a corresponding posture of, co-equals. This posture is voluntary, participatory, collaborative, and democratic; the work connotes partnership and friendship. Colleague relationships are characterized by long-term face-to-face interaction, mutual admiration, respect, trust, and support. The above-mentioned attitudinal by-products of client dependency and patron paternalism are dissuaded.

In both patterns of relationship, patrons and clients remain elites to their respective constituents; it is elite position, status, and knowledge that provides access to strategic resources (Bottomore, 1964; Mills, 1956). Elites are distinguished by the relative social weight and deference given to their knowledge, expertise, authority, and skill; elite position of course, can be both achieved and ascribed. In the school intervention situation, the crucial point is how technical assistance groups manifest their elite position and power; how it is translated into interpersonal and participant patterns of relationship. In short, the matter concerns how elites (change agents) behave toward and think about non-elites (school practitioners, parents, community representatives, and students). One either assumes that people can identify their own problems and contribute toward their solution, and act accordingly, or, one assumes that people cannot identify their own problems and contribute toward their solution, and act accordingly. The first posture invariably results in what I choose to term a colleague relationship; the second in the familiar patron-client relationship. Here, my assumption is that patron-client relationships foster mutual resentments that hamper the resolution of school problems; that colleague relationships, at the very least, acknowledge that dignity and respect so crucial to the urban populations served by educational elites.

By assuming a colleague posture to other participants in the intervention situation change agents do not negate their elite status; differences of access, expertise, knowledge, culture, and status will remain. The important qualitative difference is the pattern of relationship; more correctly, it is the quality and character of the attitudes associated with and flowing from the relationship.

In the intervention situation, a colleague pattern of relationship, at the pre-implementation phase, would be characterized by collaborative problem identification and diagnosis, strategy design, and proposal development (Lewin, 1952:

Thelen, 1967). Would-be patrons utilize their elite resources by acting as consultants; would-be clients, bringing their grounded experiences, become colleagues (Boehm, 1956; Gallaher, 1964; Pelz, 1955). Ideally, both elites and non-elites would enjoy mutually acceptable roles and division of labor. In the initial preproposal phase of school improvement projects, participant groups, funding agencies, and technical assistance groups might try to find a way to work toward the establishment of a colleague pattern of relationship as a precondition to the later working out of the project itself; suggestions are contained in the recommendation section of this paper.

Patron-Client and Colleague Patterns of Relationship in Nine School Intervention and Technical Assistance Projects

Illustrated here are characteristic patterns of patron-client and colleague relationships among participants in several school intervention projects. These descriptive accounts support recommendations for more effective approaches to the design in implementation of projects to improve urban schooling. The descriptions are en medias res; most of these projects, and their participant patterns of relationship, have undergone changes over the three year funding period. As such, the focus here is on the degree of colleague collaboration in the conception of local school problems and the design of problem solving strategies. Cases one through eight illustrate patron-client patterns; case number nine illustrates a colleague pattern. Patron-client relationships are characteristic, as will be seen, as they are encouraged in no small part by grant agency funding patterns. The intent is not so much to resolve this issue as it is to identify its complexity and the nuances of its manifestations.

Case Number One: The School Self-Improvement Project (1)*

Coalition for Business and Education Collaboration (CBEC) is a consortium of over two hundred bankers, corporation representatives, and business leaders. Established in 1965, the Collaboration sought to apply business management skills and techniques to the solution of urban school problems. In 1969, the Collaboration contracted with Justifiable Futures in Education (JFE), an educational research firm, to test the feasibility of a school/business partnership in two selected city high schools. In 1970, the New York City Board of Education asked the Collaboration to establish partnerships with ten other schools; two were finally selected. Based on experiences in these four schools, in 1974 CBEC responded to a National Institute of Education Request for Funding Proposal (RFP) and received a grant to extend its strategy into four additional high schools.

Historically, there are two phases to CBEC's strategy; an early Collaborative Planning project and a later Self-Improvement project. The early strategy was based on a participant planning model of educational change stressing the collaborative constituent involvement and responsibility in goal setting, program and staff development, and evaluation. At the request of each school, business consultants from the Collaboration were placed in the schools themselves. Under the NIE grant though, CBEC shifted to a strategy of internal management and decision-making; the aim was to train internal change agents. Initially, principals and assistant principals were the focus of the strategy.

*Site names and names of participants in the sites are pseudonyms. Numbers in parentheses indicate site numbers. Often sites are known by several different names, thus the numbers should provide clear identification.

The problem solving strategy was conceived of and designed by Justifiable Futures in Education representatives. To be sure, there was development collaboration; yet, it was phrased horizontally among employment, socio-cultural, and educational peers rather than vertically shared with local school participants. The development participants were business, industrial, and educational elites; one professional group collaborated with another. The technical assistance group placed emphasis on developing colleague relationships with district officials; this patron group became a client to a still larger group of patrons. In each project, the NIE mandate was to develop a broad-based local problem-solving strategy. In shifting from a participant planning to an institutional renewal strategy, this project exhibits a gap between intervention theory and practice. Constituents expressed a need for parent/community participation and greater project stress on vocational mathematics and reading programs. The technical assistance group, however, decided to focus on the improvement of management skills. By reinforcing existing hierachies, principals were rendered brokers and change agents, thus effectively hindering the establishment of new patterns of relationship. Even so, principals were not involved in the identification of the project problem focus or in the design of the problem-solving strategy. Organizational development theory was presented as the problem-solving strategy; thus, it is not surprising that:

> A participant responded that in observing the participation of principals present in the workshop, there seemed to be some resistance to OD concepts as espoused by Barth. Other participants stated that they too were resistant to many OD concepts due to what they viewed as an effort to be manipulative (Davis, 1977).

This project does not exhibit a locally developed school improvement strategy; for the most part, the technical assistance group extended its problem focus and strategy onto passive clients.

Case Number Two: Building a Network of Mutual Self-Help in Three Junior High Schools (7)

The Teacher Development Cooperative (TDC), the research component of the Partners in Educational Reform, is a non-profit teacher center serving public and private schools in the metropolitan Federal City area. Founded in 1970, the Cooperative focuses on staff training in needs assessment techniques and problem identification processes through workshops, seminars, and on-site technical assistance. The Cooperative's professed expertise had been teacher development and elementary school techniques for improving reading and writing. In 1974, TDC staff drafted a problem-solving strategy in response to the NIE RFP; the subsequent grant was to the teacher center.

The proposed strategy was to train school principals in management-by-objectives techniques; the focus was on processes of problem identification, management training, and evaluation techniques. The objective was to increase principal effectiveness in problem-solving design and implementation. Subsequently, principals would extend these skills so as to involve other participants in on-going processes of goal setting, needs analysis, problem-solving, and decision-making. The project schools had worked with the Cooperative on a previous school improvement project. Each school principal had participated in TDC workshops and had expressed interest in increasing management effectiveness.

As with the previously described project, this project exhibits a clear patron-client pattern of relationship. In both instances, the funded strategy employed principals as brokers; a broad-based participant input into the design of the problem focus or the problem-solving strategy was not sought. Yet, schools have multiple constituencies. Single entry paths preclude the development of organizational means of participation for other constituencies.

Single-entry paths, then, must employ brokers: brokers, though, inhibit the technical assistance group from directly knowing and experiencing site realities. Multiple-entry paths are associated with colleague patterns of relationship; they are associated with more direct and complex interaction with participants. The difficult conclusion is for change agents to establish colleague relationships with all of the relevant school groups; the recommendation section elaborates this need. In the present project, principals themselves were peripherally involved in strategy design. In addition,

> Decisions on lines of communication and timing of interventions were made then by a group that included neither the project director, who was to implement them, nor representatives of teachers, parents, community people, or students (Gordon, 1976:6).

In both projects, there was a shift from an original area of expertise to an organizational development strategy. Here, an explanation again seems to be instances of patrons themselves becoming clients seeking to reflect the wishes of still larger patrons--namely, their funding agency. Inevitably, this produces a gap between theory and practice:

> On the one hand, the TAG saw itself fostering innovation and renewal capability by changing current hierarchical leadership patterns and unilateral decision-making to a system with broader distribution of responsibility...On the other hand, the TAG's stragegy reinforced the top of the hierarchy's authority by making it the primary vehicle of change (Gordon, 1976:18).

Seemingly, in seeking to have their strategy better reflect funding objectives, the technical assistance group developed the strategy without sustained participant input; the new strategy was never clearly understood or accepted by them. Strategy decision-making and problem definition were seen as representative rather than participatory processes. The irony is that the project's rationale was collaborative decision-making:

> That objectives are written from a point of view of the TAG, not of the client, underlines the contradiction of "demonstrating" a change strategy that depends on initiation and conceptualization by the target group. It heightens the irony of a

> proposal based on collaboration being developed without substantive involvement of its target group, the school people, and without a clear stragegy for involving the group targeted for change (Gordon, 1976:16).

This illustrates a reflex of the patron-client posture. In paternalistic fashion, the technical assistance group seemingly ignored the strategy and problem-definition input of their clients. Participants, mainly teachers, wanted to continue the previous technical assistance stress on improving the classroom learning environment. As will further be seen, rather than being based on empirical observation, client needs and responses were assumed. Little pre-proposal time was spent in the project schools; in terms of the funded strategy, they were not familiar with participant positions as concerns the specific situations they were seeking to redress. Finally, imposed strategies implicitly seek client situations providing patrons with strategy-testing potential. Such are the patterns of relationship in the patron-client situation.

Case Number Three: The School Renewal Partnership: Replication Mechanism For a Mini-School Complex (2)

Founded in 1968, the Inner City Consortium is a consortium of business, industrial, educational, and community groups. By 1970, the Consortium had developed a decentralization school improvement strategy in two New York high schools. Central University's School of Education was interested in developing methods of satisfying the varied needs of local schools, coordinating change efforts, and facilitating the effective employment of University resources; the Consortium collaboratively developed alternative education workshops.

In 1968, the target school had independently conceived and implemented a decentralization strategy. In searching out consultants, the school was impressed by the Consortium/Central University demonstration workshops; staff were asked to present several on-site informational workshops. In responding to the NIE RFP, the subsequent project director, a Consortium official, drafted the funding proposal. The Consortium became the technical assistance group; Central University and a local community school district were designated project collaborators. Implementation collaboration was between the Consortium and the New York City Board of Education's Division of Educational Planning and Support.

This project's school improvement strategy emphasized organizational and management restructuring. The TAG sought to develop a supportive process assisting sites in the implementation of a subschool, decentralization model as the basis for institutional renewal. The reorganization model is a linked series of subschools housed in a common building. School architecture defines the existence of four self-contained administrative units; one subschool on each floor. Each floor plans its own curriculum; jointly, physical education, languages, and material resources operate across subschool lines. A curriculum resource center serves staff development needs of all four subschools. The project objective was to increase teacher decision-making through administrative decentralization; a more broad-based constituency was to assume responsibility for educational planning and management. To this end, a representative advisory body was designated to manage the grant.

Again, we are presented with an instance of colleague collaboration being phrased horizontally between educational, social scientific, and business elites. As concerns the definition of project problems and strategy, local school participants complained of little collaboration. Participants, including the

Principal, were "informed" that a proposal based on the school's work had been submitted to NIE. Anger was expressed at the technical assistance group's making decisions about "their" project on the basis of little contact with or knowledge about the school itself. The technical assistance group was later rejected, in part, because they failed to fulfill patron obligations. Overextended in other projects, the Consortium did not deliver expected face-to-face expertise, knowledge, skills, or resources. Spending less and less time at the site, the technical assistance staff relied on the Principal-as-broker. School participants resisted appointed technical assistance representatives.

Clients spoke of feeling "exploited"; they felt the technical assistance group wanted to increase its prestige through identification with and ownership of an already successful strategy. Additionally, constituents felt the technical assistance people "used the wrong approach" in assuming a leadership rather than assistance role. The technical assistance people "came in with all the answers", "talked down to us", "treated us like children", and "patronized us". There were complaints of being manipulated; of feeling "like puppets", of having a proposal, a funded project, a set of ideas and procedures, and a group of people being "laid on" them. It was felt the technical assistance people were trying to impose their own problems and direction; that their activities did not reflect local school needs. Local school participants felt they completed the grant <u>in spite of</u> the technical assistance group.

<u>Case Number Four: Imaginative Educational Cooperation Project (6)</u>

In 1970, the River City school system established an Organizational Development Department, composed of professional consultants routinely assisting school administrators in problem-identification and problem-solving. In

1974, several members of the Department became the technical assistance group for a new school improvement project. Collaborative consultation was provided by the Director of the River City Public School's Urban Education Center, the University of River City, and the University of Barrington. In responding to the NIE RFP, the project proposal was conceived, developed, and drafted by the initial project director, a Departmental staff member, and the River City Public Schools Assistant Superintendent for Organizational Development.

This project sought the development and implementation of a decentralized problem-solving model. The technical assistance group sought to more effectively foster feelings of ownership and responsibility for local school/community objectives and improvement strategies. Intervenors sought to institutionalize a process whereby traditional client groups such as parents, students, and community representatives became collaborative colleagues.

The assumption is that traditional organizational development models designate one group to develop change strategies that are then extended to other constituents not involved in their development. It is assumed that constituent involvement in the conception and design of change projects enhances identification and ownership. Thus, the technical assistance group served as consultants to key school personnel, training them in techniques of problem identification, conflict management, goal setting, decision-making, and intervention assessment.

This project effectively illustrates the distinction I am making between strategy intent and result--that this gap is an inevitable result of a patron-client pattern of relationship. In spite of its professed intent, this project did not substantively collaborate with participants in the pre-implementation conception and identification of school problems or in the design of the problem-solving strategy. It was assumed that organizational development was <u>the</u> change strategy. As with the Federal City project, it is again ironic that

the goal and philosophy of the technical assistance group was the development and implementation of a collaborative decision-making model:

> The TAG's Phase I proposal asserts that the failure of urban school systems to solve the problems plaguing them was a result of the process by which solutions have been developed and implemented rather than as a result of the solutions themselves...one in which professional educational administrators define problems and construct solutions which must be implemented by others (e.g., staff, students, parents, or community members). Such programs are virtually doomed to failure because those people who are responsible for their implementation do not see solutions as "theirs" and, therefore, do not see themselves as responsible for the program's success (Brown, 1977:66).

As patrons, the technical assistance group themselves became an example of what their goal statement said should not be done. Initial problem setting and strategy design was among elite colleagues.

> In fact, the development of the project fits clearly the "role-centered" model of decision-making in that the problems were defined and the strategy was developed by a group of Central Office experts, which the TAG asserted was the problem in the first place (Brown, 1977:41-42).

The predictable result was that clients, <u>both</u> staff and parents, came to feel that the project did not reflect their problems but was something "laid on" them; something imposed. The intervention entry level remained with the principal. Though no consulting was done at the local building level, the technical assistance group puzzled over the lack of client response and involvement:

> Prior to the start of the project, the TAG had no history of involvement with the target schools...Although the Principal's knowledge of OD was already known, their interest in having the project in their schools was apparently just assumed... Dr. Winter (Washington Principal) reported that he and Harry Miller (Jensen Principal) were angry when they found out that they had not been consulted or notified about the project in the planning stages (Brown, 1977:8).
>
> As for parents, those at Jensen (project school) knew nothing about the project. Those at Washington (project school) looked on it as a source of funds for workshops and other projects, but they were uncertain about the role of the consultants (Brown, 1977:41).

The technical assistance people did though, hold meetings for local client contributions; few came to these meetings or took them seriously. The patron-client posture dissuades constituent communication. This project's clients never understood the project: its goals, purpose, or language. It is reported that clients felt patronized, looked down upon.

In isolation, with no site-specific knowledge of the project school, the technical assistance group developed a school improvement strategy. Further, there was no project accountability to the local school communities. The technical assistance group was accountable to the Superintendent of Schools; in seeking legitimacy, the technical assistance group itself became a client to a more powerful patron. The Imaginative Educational Cooperation project effectively illustrates the discontinuities inherent in patron-client postures in school intervention processes.

Case Number Five: El Dorado Faculty Development Project (3)

The Teachers' Institute is a non-profit research and development group within the statewide Teachers' Association. For several years, the Institute has administered its teacher involvement and governance strategy in area schools. In responding to the NIE RFP, the Institute sought to extend and refine its existing strategy. The principal investigator, an Association staff member, wrote the project proposal. A feasibility team identified target schools and developed implementation strategy; the Association had previously worked with the project schools.

The project's goals were to increase teachers' participation in decision-making and to improve their management skills. Through workshops, teacher representatives were trained in the design and implementation of school governance structures. The assumption was that the development of formal

constitutions insured the collaborative governance of school buildings. Returning to their local schools, the teacher representatives developed, within existing administrative frameworks, a teacher governance structure. The technical assistance group assumed an advisory and consultant role; local school governance structures were determined by teacher-directed needs analysis and planning.

In this project, the technical assistance group assumed a homogeneous colleague pattern of relationship among peer elites. The professed goal of shared decision-making and collaboration was limited to this group. Interestingly, owing to the lack of teacher participation, the project, in 1975, came very close to being terminated. The project entry level was <u>past</u> teacher association presidents unfamiliar with <u>current</u> site specifics. The technical assistance group had prior involvement in the school district--but not in the project schools. Teacher representatives served as brokers; these teachers were not elected but appointed by past teacher association presidents. Hypothetically, it was not known how those teachers interacted with their peers at the building level. The project came to be associated with a particular group of teachers; it was seen as the "brainchild" of a group of Association members.

Often, "collaboration" refers to the homogeneous peer patterns of relationship illustrated here. The National Institute of Education emphasized the development of broad-based constituent involvement in school problem-solving. The El Dorado project made no serious attempt to involve constituents in its activities. Such projects are often tautological; strategies are successful to the extent that they self-define the conditions for success. The point here is that 1) technical assistance groups must have detailed, first-hand, broker-free knowledge of the local school situation in which they are working; 2) to the greatest extent possible, representatives from all school constituent groups should ideally share in defining problems and problem-solving strategies.

Case Number Six: The Extension and Expansion of a Community-Based Education Program (9)

The Neighborhood Corporation for Educational Improvement (NCEI) is a constituent elected, representative community organization. For ten years, NCEI has maintained a self-generated school-improvement project in New York City: East Town School, a comprehensive community education institution. In 1967, the East Town Parents Association negotiated with the New York City Board of Education to construct a community school at the site of an urban renewal project. In collaboration with a neighboring Parkville community group, they took the name of the Educational Improvement Committee. In collaboration with the Board of Education, the group designated a planning staff and hired two academic consultants. In 1970 the planning committee submitted to the school board a proposal requesting the establishment of a secondary educational facility. Building upon previous experience, in 1974 the Committee asked NIE for a grant to further institutionalize the alternative high school.

This project was based on the belief that schooling is a collaborative process. Schooling is successful to the extent that all constituents--parents, staff, administrators, and community persons--directly participate in the educational process. The purpose of the project was the maintenance of a comprehensive educational facility; the technical assistance strategy was the development of a more encompassing and elaborate governance structure better utilizing constituent resources. The developed committee structure would provide a mechanism for collaborative planning and decision-making. Yet, ten years later, the project is on the verge of collapse.

Underlying collaboration assertions is a familiar pattern of patron-client relationship. The project's strategy emerged from a group of white, highly schooled Parkville parents and similarly educated, political blacks

and Hispanics from East Town. A superficial overlay of color and geography masks a relationship between two elite groups. Collaboration was phrased within similar groups rather than between dissimilar groups. Discontinuities--language, class, socioeconomic status, culture--were established between this group and the other participants. It is often assumed that educational or intervention discontinuity is a reflex of color. This project illustrates how the gap between the schooled and the unschooled (Illich, 1973) varies with class and cultural divisions within the same color groups; that the technical assistance group and their clients were of the same color did not insure the success of the strategy. School constituent groups are not monolithic--either by class, ideology, or color. Ethnic diversity often masks ideological similarity. Only after the project's problem focus and strategy had been defined by this colleague elite group did they seek out client approval. Thus, the "community" in community control referred to this governing patron group. "Collaboration" meant constituent implementation approval.

As a result, it is reported that the project's philosophical and educational concepts were not understood by clients; they were not familiar with goals, language, or on-going activities. Other than within a small group of clients, the project has not engendered sustained, broad-based support. The patron-client pattern of relationship did not provide the support necessary to withstand the subsequent shocks of a rapidly changing student population and budget cutbacks. This project started, as did the School Self-Improvement Project (1), with a new building; here were opportunities to develop broad-based patterns of colleague relationship. Yet, in both instances, we see the persistence of patron-client patterns and the attendant gap between rationale and practice.

Case Number Seven: The Program for Satellite Teacher Center (5)

In 1973, the Iroquois City Public School System's Board of Education and Iroquois University's College of Education collaboratively developed an area center for teacher development. The center primarily provided in-service staff development workshops, pre-service teacher training activities, and a teacher referral and placement service for the alternative schools in southeast Iroquois City. In responding to the 1974 NIE RFP, a proposed extension project was collaboratively developed and drafted by the subsequent principal investigator, a school system coordinator, an Iroquois University staff development specialist, and the in-service coordinator for the southeast alternative schools. The project would replicate, then establish a teacher center serving eastern Iroquois City.

After more than two years, constituents concluded that the extension project had not achieved sustained incorporation. Similar to the Imaginative Educational Cooperation Project (6), this project's technical assistance group went against local school sentiment. Again, there was teacher preference to concentrate on classroom processes. This is another instance of clients serving to increase the prestige of patrons in providing situations for the replication of successful projects.

> Many problems arose from the external generation of the project. The fact that the teacher center was created in another area and simply given to people resulted in problems of acceptance and ownership...(Brown, 1977:51).

In terms of the projects described here, it is not so much the fact of externalism that is important as is the accompanying participant patterns of relationship. As will be seen, colleague patterns of relationship are enhanced through face-to-face, broad-based, vertical, site-specific interaction over comparatively long periods of time. Patron-client patterns enhance the isolation characteristic of externally developed projects. In Iroquois City,

this isolation is expressed physically. Additionally, the mere fact of extensionism contradicts the National Institute of Education's emphasis upon the generation of local school developed projects.

The Satellite Center was isolated from its patron, the Model Center, as well as from its four client schools and their parent, student, and community constituents. As has been seen, externally developed projects seem to be under pressure from their patrons to develop successful replications. In this pattern of relationship, local participants are all but ineffectual. Effectively, the technical assistance group becomes a client to a larger patron:

> The situation was one in which the (new) center staff might well have viewed the (parent) center as a "rich and snobbish step-sister" (Sherlock, 1977:76).

Subtly, the extended project became a client enhancing the prestige and reputation of its patron. The new center's clients, not being colleagues in problem definition or strategy design, felt they served as a "laboratory" for the testing and evaluation of their patron's strategy:

> It is also clear from the data presented in the case study that the client population never felt ownership of, or identification with the Center. Among the confusion and lack of understanding, there were feelings of suspicion. There was a sense that the whole project had been "laid on" by outsiders... The suspicion toward outsiders was that the project was probably more to the benefit of the University people than to the clients (Sherlock, 1977:2-26).

The technical assistance group spent little time in the new center or in the client schools. Even in its second year, NIE representatives were called upon to explain the strategy to local school clients. Local school staff never quite understood how the project could help resolve the classroom problems they felt important. The Satellite Center degenerated into merely a source of funding for staff development proposals; mutual hostility and mistrust severed opportunity for any on-going colleague relationships.

Case Number Eight: The Developmental Approach to Urban Education: A Psycho-Social Action Model (4)

In 1968, the subsequent project principal investigator, was attempting to understand and resolve persistent problems of high levels of school absenteeism and drop-out rates, the mutual anxieties and fears of parents and teachers, and low student academic performance. Employing a psychological approach, a series of child-centered community action programs was developed. An educational consortium of local community groups was formed. The consortium expanded upon the original psychocultural interaction model in continuing to work with local school groups. At this time, activist parents, through school and district committees, had been agitating for basic improvement in local school environments. In 1974, the consortium organized parental concerns as impetus for drafting a project proposal in response to the NIE RFP.

The aim of the funded project was to increase the effectiveness of participants previously active in school improvement efforts: school and community resources would be mobilized to better meet student needs. The assumption was that urban school failure is a result of the discontinuity between the student's native culture and the culture of the school. Urban schooling is ineffective to the degree of lack of interaction and collaboration between diverse constituent groups. The primary purpose of the project was to render schools more responsive to the needs of the child. Site schools and personnel volunteered to participate in the project.

The technical assistance group, the Cultural Continuity Project, is composed of a local research center, a medical center, a community hospital, and local school groups. The Board of Directors is composed of the principal investigator, the project director, the project school principals, and parent and teacher representatives. The project strategy was to develop workshops

employing psychological and cultural approaches to conceptualizing and understanding the interrelationship of school, home, and community; child development theory is the model about which the school should be made to function. Workshops and seminars encourage participants to discuss and define their respective roles, identify the child's physical, emotional, academic, and social needs, identify the barriers to the satisfaction of those needs, and then locate the school, community, or consultant resources to meet those needs. Administrators were to be trained to view the school as a system that either blocks or satisfies the needs of the child; they should then come to better understand the child's culture at home and its relationship to the school. Parents were to be helped to understand the language, norms, expectations, and operating procedure of the school. These workshops also lessen the fears school staff had of parents and, conversely, that parents had of the school.

This project was based on a recognition of the cultural and ethnic heterogeneity of urban school communities as itself a contributing factor to urban school ineffectiveness. The project made an important distinction between the culture of the student and the culture of the child. In heterogeneous, plural societies, the culture of the child is invariably different from the national enculturation ethos.*

Local school constituents were not involved in the conception or design of the problem solving strategy. Prior to the funded project though, both the principal investigator and project director had spent considerable time in and gained considerable experience with the local community. Parents and the technical assistance group were able to thus develop a common approach to

*On enculturation in plural societies, see Mead (1943). On the culture of the public school system in the United States, see Henry (1963).

school change; the problem was that the teachers came to be viewed as the adversary of this group. The alignment between parents, community representatives, and the technical assistance group made the strategy alien to the instructional staff. Again, the lesson is that the technical assistance group must, to the greatest extent possible, include all local school participants in the process of problem identification and strategy design.

Case Number Nine: The Project for Extending School Capacity for Self-Support of Responsive Education (8)

In 1967, the present project director, Dr. Marian Barber, reorganized five Bricktown elementary school classrooms around an open corridor plan. After three years of experience, an Assistors' Service was formed in order to institutionalize a support system for the open education strategy. In 1972, a University Center was formed on the Central University campus; the Center provided off-site support for the open education projects. In responding to the NIE RFP, Dr. Barber proposed to increase and refine the existing open education model. A grant was made to the Assistors' Service and University Center through the Research Foundation at Central University.

This intervention strategy was based on the reorganization of traditional classrooms into a decentralized arrangement linked through the employment of hallways as a planned learning environment. Traditional classroom organization and curriculum were considered unsupportive of the learning process. In each corridor community, classroom doors remain open; four or five classes, from k-6, share a common setting. The assumption here was that accessibility itself reinforces interaction enhancing the educational process; previously isolated constituents pool and share teaching techniques, materials, space, energy, ideas, and activities. The Assistors' Service places consultants in those public schools where pre-existing programs or activities have initiated activities toward the self-support of open education programs and have sought

the consultantship of the technical assistance group. Constituents, be they student, parent (students through parents), administrators, and teachers voluntarily participate in open education projects.

The objective of this strategy was to increase the heterogeneity of the learning environment; as a philosophy, open education supports participation, community, and the crossage, sex, ability, color, and ethnic interaction lacking in traditional classrooms. The open education project attempts to synchronize child development theory and school organization. Traditional age-graded curriculums are set aside; individualized learning activities are organized around student interests, learning styles, and biological needs. As similar to the previous Cultural Continuity Project (4), this project is based on the philosophy that the school exists to support the developmental potential of the student; both strategies are child-centered. Here, key concepts are the support of parent involvement in the educational process, the generation of a democratic learning environment, teacher, community, and voluntary participation.

A colleague pattern of relationship is illustrated. Elite and non-elite role relationships are phrased across status groups; in the previous case studies, elites were synonymous with patrons. Here, there is continuity between project intention, rationale, and actualities. The project is based on a philosophic stance of democratic education; a colleague pattern of relationship is a reflex of that philosophy. As has been stressed, it is values, attitudes and personal stances among participants that are crucial:

> The attitude toward (clients) is not one of condescension but of collaboration with them and reliance upon their unique contribution to the learning process in children and for the more sensitive development of teacher attitudes towards children (Karunakaran, 1977:205).

The project seems to be based on mutual communication, rapport, credibility, visibility, trust, and familiarity among all constituents. The emphasis here on voluntary participation distinguishes it from other extension strategies:

> Thus, the project was not a University or Department undertaking, but the idea of an individual working within its structure. This would set it apart from other programs which are University experiments in the community. It was not a package that was being tested or delivered to the community... Its earliest manifestation was in a public school. Thus, it was not created in a laboratory situation and then applied to the school situation (Karunakaran, 1977:25).

Clients sought out the technical assistance group; strategies were not imposed. In both, there was a mutuality of approach to school problem-solving; schools experimenting with child-centered education sought out technical assistance groups experienced in this strategy:

> Thus, it appears that the Project and its clients "matched" each other--parents were looking for an educational program that would honor cultural, ethnic, racial, and personal diversity and the program expressed and was able to demonstrate these goals as being at the basis of its strategy for school reorganization (Karunakaran, 1977:96-97).

And again, very similar to the preceding project:

> The basic premise of the project is that it is a continuation and refinement of the informal learning provided by parents in the home (Karunakaran, 1977:204).

If this rather than imposition be the case, then the support generated for the project is understandable; participants were related to as colleagues rather than clients. There exists a common base about child development and education:

> The significant general observation that needs to be made in this section is that in the schools where the project has made most progress, there has been a proper match between Project goals and client interests and preferences...The Project expanded upon and refined the community's own projections for its schools (Karunakaran, 1977:204).

This approach is to be contrasted with previously described patron-client patterns of imposing, regardless of client wishes, a school improvement strategy. Here, in effect, participants are involved in problem definition and strategy design simply in choosing an improvement scheme. The technical assistance group provided implementation assistance. Voluntary participation cancels imposition.

The technical assistance group engaged in face-to-face collaboration; there were no brokers. Advisory personnel were placed directly in the schools. The project's goals and strategies were broadly advertised. Constituents worked together, and in so doing came to share the project:

> The philosophy and strategy of the Responsive Education project is expressed and implemented through the use of a language that appears to define this group. This language is shared by teachers, parents, administrators, and project staff members (Karunakaran, 1977: 55-56).

RECOMMENDATIONS

The present study suggests three recommendations that would improve the nature and quality of interpersonal relationships in school intervention projects. These recommendations are addressed to private and governmental funding agencies as well as to technical assistance groups.

1. Where possible, resource and technical assistance should be focused on the better functioning of those sites demonstrating an established set of change activity, identity, direction, philosophy, goals, and colleague constituent pattern of relationship.

Extensionist projects reinforce patron-client patterns of relationships. The previously discussed projects were funded to the extent that each had <u>locally</u> developed school problem-solving strategies. As has been seen, some strategies were locally developed; most were not. Extensionism contradicts

a funding emphasis on the local, building-level development of school improvement projects and strategies.* Cross-site analysis revealed that projects building upon pre-existing locally developed strategies were more sustaining than extensionist strategies.

Technical assistance groups must not define their role and mission as the generation and extension of school improvement strategies from without. In employing elite access channels, technical assistance groups might recommend to local constituents the value of other existing approaches and techniques. Any extensionism should be collaboratively developed and monitored. Any extensionism should be preadapted, as evolutionary biologists would say, for that particular site. Technical assistance personnel would only recommend those traits already adapted to a particular situation. Rather than imposing direction, technical assistance personnel would do just that--assist. Adoption of a colleague pattern of relationship enhances the desirability of technical assistance personnel adjusting themselves to the established framework of the school.**

*Extensionism's rationale directly contradicts the indigenous, collaborative development of school improvement strategies:

> Underlying the predominant change efforts of the 1960's was a rational and mechanistic model of the change process. It assumed that if new educational products were developed...they could easily be "installed" in the schools. Schools tended to be viewed as machines into which new parts needed to be fitted. Thus, the parts could be prepared elsewhere (in the research and development laboratories or in federal planning departments) and then disseminated to a passive adopting group in local schools (Moore, et al., 1975:5).

**Havelock's (1969) problem-solver model forecasts the effectiveness of my so-called preadapted sites developing colleague patterns of relationship.

2. Technical assistance groups must engage in face-to-face, rather than broker, interaction with other constituents. The methodology and techniques employed by ethnographic anthropologists in conducting cross-cultural behavioral research has clear relevance and direct applicability to the establishment of colleague patterns of relationship. Technical assistance personnel can be more effective through behaving like ethnographers.

Because of the heterogeneous nature of the urban situation, school improvement projects, and their constituencies, are more profitably seen as cross-cultural in nature. Ethnographic research techniques reinforce the shared knowledge and consciousness, bridging constituent gaps of culture and schooling and class (Nolan and Roper, 1977: Roper and Nolan, 1977). Ethnographic approaches stress the direct participant observation of and contact with constituent groups; the rationale is that one only comes to know and understand the way of life of others by directly experiencing the situations producing their reality. As much as possible, the goal is to share in the assumptions, language, and goals of the people with whom one is working.* The point of departure is the people themselves; the local situation. Ethnographic methodology requires careful attention to matters of entry into a different culture, of establishing an acceptable identity and role, of establishing rapport with constituents, of personal adjustment to the local culture, of the empirical identification of relevant constituent groups, and of the establishment of credibility. Local groups are not presumed homogeneous or monolithic; multiple entry levels are stressed as is the empirical identification of relevant constituent groups.

We have seen projects suffer from a lack of on-site technical assistance presence. An ethnographic approach reinforces contact, mutuality, reciprocity,

*On ethnographic techniques, see Pelto (1970) and Williams (1967).

sharing, dialogue, familiarity, credibility, legitimacy, trust, and respect. These attributes are not extendable or exportable; legitimacy and respect are site-specific. The development of a colleague pattern of relationship alone, and its attendant attributes, might take an ethnographer months; trust and respect have to be earned. Though this ethnographic model of intervention is useful, technical assistance groups, local school constituents, and funding agencies must realize that the antecedents to an effective school improvement project take time to develop.

3. The preceding cross-site analysis suggests a need for the support of collaboratively designed school improvement proposals, projects, and strategies as well as associated colleague patterns of constituent relationship. In what fashion then, can governmental and private funding agencies influence, if not direct, this goal? I believe that, in large part, funding patterns themselves determine the character, problem focus, and latent theory of school intervention.

Funding agencies ought to develop what I will term preproject feasibility grants specifically designed to request the collaborative generation and design of longitudinal projects. Constituents would propose to develop specific patterns of relationship before and leading up to qualification and consideration for the submission of a longitudinal project. As we have seen, colleague patterns of relationship are attempted after rather than before implementation. Further, the project itself is often dominated by the time taken to work out roles and tasks. A preproject proposal would indicate how it would employ funds to set up, or further develop, a collaborative structure antecedent to a longitudinal project. Preproposal funding would form a context for the development of shared attitudes, conditions, and behaviors preadapted for the success of longitudinal projects. The attempt is to insure that constituents consciously share the goals, philosophy, language, and strategy of the longitudinal project.

A preproject RFP would be a proposal to develop a proposal. Preproject proposals would demonstrate the broad-based collaborative design of a longitudinal project; task allocations and constituent roles and responsibilities must be clarified. The RFP might outline the characteristics of a colleague pattern of relationship and an outline of the evaluation process. Preproject proposals must be rigorously evaluated; longitudinal projects will only be as effective as the constituent patterns of relationship formalized during this preproject stage. The funding agency must rigorously field-test the proposal for recognizable, demonstrable, and mutually satisfactory on-site colleague patterns of relationship. Longitudinal funding would be contingent upon successful preproject evaluation.

In reinforcing the development of colleague patterns of constituent relationship, this model has the potential for increasing the interpersonal and relational effectiveness of parties involved in school improvement projects.

SUMMARY

Through the comparative analysis of nine school improvement projects, this essay has illustrated the association between patterns of constituent collaboration in the design of intervention projects and problem-solving strategies and the degree of mutual adaptation, incorporation, and sustained project effectiveness. The study was meant to stimulate continued study of the quite important role of constituent attitudes, interpersonal behavior, and patterns of relationship in school intervention projects.

Many of the barriers to school improvement are cultural and relational, rather than programmatic, in nature; urban schools and school improvement personnel comprise a heterogeneous, diverse constituency. Patterns of constituent relationship expressing mutual trust and respect, complementary roles, and shared goals are a necessary but not sufficient condition for a

successful approach to the solution of persistent school problems. Through an ethnographic approach to school intervention as well as the development of preproject feasibility funding, technical assistance groups will assume more collegial and collaborative patterns of constituent relationship pre-adapting a given project for longitudinal success.

REFERENCES

Adams, Robert McC.
1966 The Evolution of Urban Society: Early Mesopotamia and Prehistoric Mexico. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Belshaw, Cyril
1970 "The adaptation of personnel policies in social context." In Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas, ed. by Wilbert E. Moore and Arnold S. Feldman. New York: Social Science Research Council. pp. 92-108.

Berman, Paul
1975 Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change. Volume 5: Executive Summary. Washington, DC: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, United States Office of Education.

Boehm, W.W.
1956 "The professional relationship between consultant and consultee." American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 26:241-248.

Bottomore, Thomas B.
1964 Elites and Society. London: Watts Publishing Company.

Brown, Robert P.
1977 Case Study: River City (6) - Imaginative Educational Cooperation Project. Early Draft. Chicago: Center for New Schools.

Caird, J.B. and H.A. Moisley
1961 "Leadership and innovation in the crofting communities of the South Hebrides." Sociological Review 9:85-102.

Clark, Woodrow
1977 Case Study: El Dorado (3) - Faculty Development Project. Early Draft. Chicago: Center for New Schools.

Cohen, Yehudi
1969 "Schools and civilizational states." The Social Sciences and the Comparative Study of Educational Systems, ed. by Joseph Fischer. New York: International Textbook Publishers. pp. 39-105.

Davis, Jacqueline Peek
1977 Case Study: New York (1) - Coalition for Business and Education Collaboration, School Self-Improvement Project. Early Draft. Chicago: Center for New Schools.

Foster, George M.
1967 "The dyadic contract: A model for the social structure of a Mexican peasant village." In Peasant Society: A Reader, ed. by Jack M. Potter, May M. Diaz, and George M. Foster. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. pp. 213-230.

Fried, Morton H.
1960 "On the evolution of social stratification and the state." In Culture in History, ed. by Stanley Diamond. New York: Columbia University Press.

1967 The Evolution of Political Society: An Essay in Political Anthropology. New York: Random House.

Gallaher, Art
1964 "The role of the advocate and directed changed." In Media and Educational Innovation, ed. by Wesley C. Meierhenry. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Extension Division and the University of Nebraska Press.

Gordon, Gerry, et al.
1977 Case Study: Federal City (7) - Junior High School Network Project. Early Draft. Chicago: Center for New Schools.

Havelock, Ronald G.
1969 Planning for Innovation Through Dissemination and Utilization of Knowledge. Ann Arbor: Center for Research on the Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

Henry, Jules
1963 Culture Against Man. New York: Random House.

Illich, Ivan
1973 "The futility of schooling in Latin America." In To See Ourselves: Anthropology and Modern Social Issues, ed. by Thomas Weaver. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman, and Company. pp. 320-330.

Karunakaran, Chitra
1977 Case Study: New York (8) - Responsive Education Program. Early Draft. Chicago: Center for New Schools.

Kenny, Michael
1960 "Patterns of patronage in Spain." Anthropological Quarterly 33:14-23.

Lewin, Kurt
1952 "Group decision and social change." Readings in Social Psychology, ed. by G.E. Swanson et. al. New York: Henry Holt and Company. pp. 459-473.

Mannheim, Karl
1940 Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction: Studies in Modern Social Structure. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World.

Mead, Margaret
1943 "Our educational emphases in primitive perspective." American Journal of Sociology 68(6):633-639.

Mills, C. Wright
1956 The Power Elite. New York: Oxford University Press.

Moore, Donald R., Manford Holmes, Emile Scheppers, and Kathy A. Blair
1977 Assistance Strategies of Six Groups that Facilitate Educational Change at the School/Community Level. Chicago: Center for New Schools.

Nieoff, Arthur H. and Anderson J. Charnel
1964 "The process of cross-cultural innovation." International Development Review 6:5-11.

Nolan, Robert R. and Susan Stavert Roper
1977 "Translating research into practice: Suggestions for working with practitioners." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. New York, April 1977.

Paoli, Lilliam
1977 Case Study: New York (9) - Neighborhood Corporation for Educational Improvement, East Town H.S. Early Draft. Chicago: Center for New Schools.

Pelto, Pertti J.
1970 Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

Pelz, Edith Bennett
1955 "Discussion, decision, commitment, and consensus in 'group decision'." Human Relations 8:251-278.

Reina, Ruben
1959 "Two patterns of friendship in Guatemalan community." American Anthropologist 61:44-50.

Rivera, Gladys and Patrick Montesano
1977 Case Study: New York (2) - Southend Intermediate School, Inner City Consortium. Early Draft. Chicago: Center for New Schools.

Roper, Susan Stavert and Robert R. Nolan
1977 "Down from the ivory tower: A model of collaborative in-service education." Stanford, California: Occasional Paper No. 16, Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching.

Sherlock, Steve
1977 Case Study: Iroquois City (5) - Program for Satellite Teacher Center. Early Draft. Chicago: Center for New Schools.

Thelen, Herbert A.
1967 "Concepts for collaborative action-inquiry." In Concepts for Social Change, ed. by G. Watson. Washington, DC: NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science.

Weber, Max
1946 Essays in Sociology. Translated and edited by Hans H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press.

Williams, Thomas Rhys
1967 Field Methods in the Study of Culture. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Wittfogel, Karl A.
1957 Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Wolf, Eric R.
1966 "Kinship, friendship, and patron-client relationships in complex societies." In The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies, ed, by Michael Banton. London: Tavistock Publications. pp. 1-22.

Word, Carl
1977 Case Study: San Andreas (4) - Cultural Continuity Project in Urban Education. Early Draft. Chicago: Center for New Schools.